796
*794 supposedly there is competition among them as to which night
[565] will be the loveliest. This becomes more expensive each year, however, and the patrons are becoming less willing to donate money. This festival is most enjoyed by the lower classes. It is avoided by members of Class B, who in many instances are nevertheless called upon to be patrons.

796 The festival takes on a carnival aspect each night, with
[525] booths set up in the streets by professional people from Sal-
[275] vador and Centro. The booths have wheels of fortune and guessing games, and sell sweets and drinks. After the religious celebration in the chapel, everyone goes out into the square to talk, play games, and dance.

796 The day before the first Mass of the festival is celebrated,
794 the chapel is thoroughly washed by the women participants of
358 the African cult house, who dress up in their many starched
[291] skirts and bandanas and go to the well as a group for water, which they take to the chapel to throw on the floor. A few lit-
[535] tle barefoot girls wash down the floor with brooms. After the washing the women go out dancing in the streets. They dance
*[565] on every street in town and ask for alms. This entire procedure, known as the lavagem (washing), is much frowned upon by members of Class B.

796 Most of the ordinary town life ceases during these nine days, for everyone is tired after staying up so late at night. The day of the patron saint of the town falls during this festival, and is passed over with nothing more than a simple Mass celebrated in the mother church in his honor. The people of the rural
[794] area of this parish do not observe the day of the patron saint at all. The day after the nine-day festival, a group of young men go out dancing and singing in the streets, asking for alms to make a large feijoada (feast of beans) at night. This is called mazorra (the clowns). After this the men settle down again to their fishing, for by now their money is all used up.

The next festival on the calendar is the second of February, when the nearby towns of Centro, Conselho, and Morro celebrate the day of their patron saint. People from Vila Recôncavo go to one or another of these three towns, although not
• [778] in great numbers. The majority go to Conselho, which has the reputation of being a holy place, and to which pilgrimages are
* frequently made.
[565] All festivities end during Lent, which is quietly observed. It is interesting to note that Carnaval, which takes place the
[184] three days before Lent, is observed in Vila Recôncavo only among members of Class A.

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

[778] [788] [565] [184] [431]

Prayers

794 782 [565] [184]

Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

782 [776] [794]

Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

755 782 [754]

Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

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this are being made, however, and it is hoped he will be ready for it before her death. In the meantime she has legally willed the house and its material belongings to him, and is also passing along to him her spiritual heritage. He is learning the mystical part of the cult, but she cannot show him the outer forms, such as dancing and other physical motions of worship, because she is too infirm. Traditionally only women went through training for worship in the Brazilian cults, for the belief is that the gods descend and "ride" or "mount" the disciple. This could only be done with women disciples. However, one of the changes reaching the cults now is the entrance of men as devotees. Very often they are effeminate, as is the case with the young man who is helping the old woman. The old one is not pleased with having a man perform the duties of her cult house, but she feels she must be satisfied with him because there is no one else in her house. Although all her former disciples are gone, now at least she will have someone to dispatch her saints when she dies, a complicated ritual which must be properly carried out.

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One of the other two houses is in the town and is led by Roxa, who has "made her saint" but who by cult standards should still be a devotee in another house, for she is not considered well enough prepared to be leading a house of her own. Her house is extremely weak, with few followers, most of whom have not yet "made their saints." Roxa is the main figure, the one most often possessed and through whom the spirits speak. As a young girl she went through a fairly rigorous period of training, but broke away before it was completed. She says she fulfills the necessary obligations now only because if she did not she would become sick. She calls the whole thing a "complication" in her life which must be looked after. She has been married but is now widowed and childless.

The other house, located on one of the plantations run by an overseer, is led by a man in his forties. He also claims that he is in the cult because of his health. As a boy and young man he was always sick and his entire body ached. One day in the field he found a "lightning stone" (pedra de raio). Such stones are common in the cults and are thought to have been sent from the sky, although they really are American Indian artifacts, such as arrowheads and hatchets, and are constantly turned up in the soil. At first he did not know what the stone was and took it home, but on discovering that it had supernatural significance, he threw it away, for he wanted nothing

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2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[778] to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cultism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To [782] put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious" [428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her [765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, [578] he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came
787 to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
177 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagó and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell [776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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giance from numerous and zealous devotees. African dances still invaded the popular festivals of the Europeans to such an extent that vigorous protests on the part of the white citizenry appeared in the newspapers.[16] Numerous images employed in the fetish worship were imported from Africa, and others were made by Negro sculptors in Bahia.

One occasionally encountered Negroes who in Africa had been chiefs or other dignitaries of considerable power and influence. Although in Brazil they shared the fortunes of a slave with their former subjects, they nevertheless often received allegiance and great reverence from them. On a chance meeting in the street these personages were, we are told, "saluted respectfully, their hands kissed, and a blessing requested of them." Even their masters were reported to have paid them, in several cases, considerable respect.

Slaves who were in close contact with their masters, especially the house servants, soon became, by the very necessities of the situation, at least to some extent bilingual. And their offspring, reared in close contact with the children of their masters, acquired little, if any, African vocabulary and came almost exclusively to speak Portuguese. Thus, about 1800, Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "Portuguese

[16] In the *Jornal de Noticias* for February 12, 1901, a white citizen wrote: "I wish to protest against the way in which this great civilized festival [Carnival] is being Africanized." Three days later the following was published: "These infamous Africanized groups *de cansás* and *busios* which, far from adding to the brilliance of our Carnival festival, bring shame upon the name of Bahia . . . . have since yesterday been keeping up their infernal tumult." Immediately preceding the opening of Carnival the following year there appeared in the *Jornal de Noticias* (February 5, 1902) the following note: "If during these former Carnival festivals when the popular enthusiasm has been greatly aroused by the passage of the victorious floats . . . . these groups of *Africanos* have been repugnant, what will the Carnival of 1902 turn out to be, unless the police take effective measures to prevent our streets from looking like *terreiros* where fetish practices reign amid a retinue of *ogans* and their *cansás* and tambourines?" (Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Ohum Eniadúdú[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82.

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filled the churches at Mass, at prayers, and at sermons, accompanied by little black urchins carrying small stools of *jacarandá*[16] with carved feet. They were women who tended small stalls in the markets, or who sold in the streets, proprietors of small eating-places, elderly slaves, and young *mulatas* who came to turn the heads of the "old conquerors."[17]

[16] A very heavy wood of rich coloring much prized for furniture.

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[17] "Onde estão as *Bahianas?*" *A Tarde*, June 23, 1936. It was of these *Bahianas* that Carmen Miranda sang when she recently captivated Broadway with the staccato notes of the rollicking *samba* by Dorival Caymmi, "Que é que a Bahiana tem?"

O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem	She has a *torço* of silk, she has
Tem brinco de ouro, tem	She has ornaments of gold, she has
Corrente de ouro, tem	She has a golden necklace, she has
Tem pano da Costa, tem	She has a *pano da Costa*, she has
Tem bátá rendada, tem, ah!	She has a *bátá*, embroidered, she has—ah!
Pulseira de ouro, tem	Bracelets of gold, she has
Tem saia engomada, tem	She has a *saia*, starched, she has
Sandalia enfeitada, tem.	Decorated *sandalias*, she has.
Tem graça como ninguem	She has "oomph" like nobody else
Como ela requebra bem	How well she swings those hips!
Quando você se requebrar	When you swing those hips
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim	Fall on top of me
Caia por cima de mim.	Fall on top of me.
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
O que é que a bahiana tem?	What is it that a *Bahiana* has?
Tem torço de seda, tem . . . . etc.	She has a *torço* of silk, she has . . . . etc.
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Só vae no Bomfim quem tem	Only those go to Bomfim who have
Um rosario de ouro	A rosary of gold,
Uma bolota* assim	A little ball, thus,
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Quem não tem balangandans	She who has no *balangandans*
Não vae no Bomfim	Can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim
Oi, não vae no Bomfim	Oi, can't go to Bomfim,
Oi, não vae no Bomfim.	Oi, can't go to Bomfim.

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* Instead of a cross the Malês, or Mohammedan Negroes in Bahia, used a ball on the rosary.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[27] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[28]

782 755 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 [776] The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[27] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 • 778 [554] [28] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae de santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

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men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[29] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[30] Parents of twins make regular food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

[29] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[30] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

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My *pae de santo* made an *ebó* for me last week. It is a *limpeza do corpo* ["cleansing of the body"]. I had an unclean body and dragged myself around, listless. I went to the "master" of the *candomblé* and he "opened the table" and looked to see if my body was unclean. He then asked me to bring toasted maize, a black cloth, popcorn, honey, and a candle. He passed them all over me,[51] and when he had finished, he took them and left them in a crossroads. Friday is the day for this.

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Now if a person puts a *bruxaria*[52] in your doorway, with a doll stuck through with pins, that is of the *feiticeiro* and it is different from a "cleansing of the body." My *pae de santo* does not make *feitiço*. He says that he does not care to do harm to people, because he has a soul for which he is responsible to God. But any *pae de santo* who wishes to bring harm upon someone can do so. For example, if I arrive in his *casa* and say that I want to do something to someone he asks me: "What do you want to do to her?" I say that when she comes to my door I want her to go blind. He will "make a business" and the next day she will come to my door and go blind. Or else I say that I want her to be wounded by a knife. He arranges it so that this happens.[53]

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"Opening the table" is a thing done with *buzios*. The *pae de santo* puts an *orixá* on top of the table, together with his little towel.[54] He takes up the *buzios* and sees if "the way is open." My *pae de santo* "opens the table" with beads.[55] He takes the beads and puts them alongside *palha* from the *pindoba*.[56] These beads come from the Coast.[57] His set cost 1:000$000.[58]

[51] That is, in front, to side, behind, above the head, etc.

[52] Any instrument of black magic.

[53] That is, she will be attacked in a lonely place by robbers, or accidentally stabbed. The action is always mediate.

[54] The table-covering which is placed over the *orixá* in the *pegi*, or sanctuary.

[55] Other means employed: a glass of water, a set of playing cards.

[56] Fronds from a variety of the coconut palm.

[57] That is, from the West Coast of Africa.

[58] One thousand milreis, or one conto, equivalent at that time to approximately $60.

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In details of language, ceremonial dress, dance, song and pantheon, these centers differ from the *candomblés* known as "Congo" or "Angola," in which Bantú dialects are spoken, Loanda and Benguela become sacred places, and Tempo and the Angolan chief Kissimbe are worshiped. They differ also from the apparently more recently organized *caboclo candomblés* whose ritual is, in varying degrees from *seita* to *seita*, a mixture of the rituals of the other cults, together with dances and a pantheon of Tupi origin, the latter of which includes Tupan, an important Tupi deity, and Tupinambá, apparently a personification of the cannibal tribe by that name which inhabited the Bahian coast at the coming of the Europeans. The *caboclo candomblés* carry on their ceremonies principally in Portuguese, with the addition of certain phrases of African origin, usually much corrupted, which have been picked up from Gêge-Nagô or Congo-Angola *seitas*, and a few words of Tupi derivation. Feathers, the bow and arrow, and other Indian cultural elements enter into their ritual.

This borrowing of ceremonial elements on the part of *caboclo* imitators, who in many, if not most, cases have not been reared in the African tradition, is bitterly resented by the more orthodox and scrupulous *Africanos*, particularly those of the Gêge-Nagô *seitas*. As a Negro once said, "Si seja mistura, é bobagem" ("If it's mixed, it's nonsense"). A leader of a Nagô cult once burst out:

> This fellow João da Pedra Preta! What a disgraceful whelp! His forebears, what did they know? Were they brought up in the *seita*, and did they "deixaram o cargo" [will the office of priest] to him? No! He came here from the *sertão* and started a *candomblé*. Picked up a little Gêge, a little Nagô, a little Congo, a little Indian stuff, and so on. A disgraceful mixture!

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appears to be an overstatement. In the area surrounding the sacred lake, or the Dique, and lying between the streetcar lines known as Rio Vermelho de Cima and Rio Vermelho de Baixo are more than a score. A black who regularly attends the *seita* known as Engenho Velho is personally acquainted with eighteen *seitas*, can give the location of their sacred grounds, indicate their line of African descent, and repeat the names of their leaders. Of these eighteen *seitas*, he says that eleven are of Nagô origin, six of Angola, and one of Gêge. All are located in the outlying areas of the city in sections principally inhabited by the darker portion of the population or in the more or less open country. Of their leaders, nine are males and nine are females.[5]

Sacred places include the *terreiro*, or temple grounds; the *franquia*, or sacred groves; sacred springs like that called Milagre do São Bartholomeu ("Miracle of St. Bartholomew"), located in an isolated spot near Pirajá, bathing in whose waters on the part of a *filha de santo* dedicated to Oxun-manrê "immediately causes the *orixá* to arrive";[6] sacred lakes, like the Dique; and the sacred arms of the sea, such as Cabeceiras da Ponte, Mont'serrat, and Baiutê. In the *terreiro* are the *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion; the *pegi*, or fetish sanctuary; the *camarinha*, or sacred room in which initiates are interned during the period of their preparation; special huts for those *orixás*, like Exú, who "prefer to dwell outside the *pegi*"; and the living-quarters for the priest and his retinue.

In one *seita* of Gêge-Nagô origin whose *pae de santo* is dedi-

[5] Of the eleven Nagô centers, four of the heads are males, seven are women; of the Angola centers, five are males, one a female. The leader of the Gêge *seita* is a woman.

[6] See below, p. 286.

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cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

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PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *carurú*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*kay-o-ee*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guero-min-fi*
Oxóssi (Oso-osi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, oxtail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *buzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*hê*
Exú	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*kin-kue-ye-min*

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Camumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)

† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.

‡ In the *candomblés de caboclo*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princeza do Mar.

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TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hay-ee-ee* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Oxun)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abêbé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*tainha*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hum-hum*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obi*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*hu-hu-hu-hu*
Oxun-manré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gamelleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, bear, white wine	All colors¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Ifá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*caruru, acassá, abará, acarajé, farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *caruru* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.

‖ Also known in Gêge as Toboosi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-manré).

¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *esteja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gamelleira* tree.

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